12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
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ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214–215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.
[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343–344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 393.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 393.